1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

874 utilize their learning in other capacities. The sons of former feudal nobles or of priests usually secure administrative positions or judgeships without difficulty; those of undistinguished birth could become däbtära; or locate a vacancy as teacher in a parish school--then "däj tena" the regional bishop to confirm them in the appointment.

872 538 Methods of the church school were followed, for centuries, for all those boys who attended the local school, which was in reality a lower-grade church school itself. The initial process of learning to read was called "quter" (lit. number), "counting" letters. The second stage was called "Geez", for then they learned the seven syllabic variants of each Geez consonantal letter. The third stage, "werd nebab", had the pupils read the entire syllabic alphabet up and down until completely memorized in sequence. In the fourth stage, "abugida", the order of the syllabic alphabet is mixed up and the pupil must place each syllabic letter in proper order. In the 5th stage, he reads, in a sing-song which varies from province to province, the first chapter of the Epistle of St. John, first letter by letter, then word by word, finally phrase by phrase, a repetition of the first four stages. This musical singsong "mälakta yohanesä hawareya" symbolizes what ABC does in the West. Then follow readings from the New Testament, Psalms of David ("dawit"), then any text "on sight" in Geez or Amharic. Liturgical songs and poetry most often learned by heart are: "Wäddasē Maryam", "Anqäsä Berhan", "Mälka

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

872 Maryam", "Malka Iyasus". All of these are basic devotional liturgy.
[538]

[212] It is noteworthy that there is usually no formal training in writing at all, for fear of misuse. Individual students can take the initiative of finding a private tutor for writing.

At this point the local schooling ended, usually after about three years. In the past, only church students travelling to centers of learning went beyond that level. Only they learned to understand what they were reading.

874 On this higher level, church students read Geez
538 literature such as Miracles, Lives of Saints, "Gädel", "Tamara Maryam", "Gänzät", "Mar Yes-haq", and Ethics, "sirak". Also church homilies, "dersan", containing doctrine, "dersät", composed by a saintly author, "Därasi". Important is the book "bal abäw" a combination of homilies of Greek, Coptic, and Syrian church Fathers, probably translated from Arabic to Geez in the mid-15th century under Emperor Zara Yaqob.

874 Those proceeding still further divided into specializations (sort of electives). Some specialized in devotional poetry, including compositions, for about 3 years--"qene". Others specialized in "zema", for which they had to be talented with a musical ear to distinguish the musical notation of "degwa", "soma degwa", "me'raf", "mawasat", "zenmare qeddase saatat". Still others specialized for a minimum of three years in religious philo-

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

874 sophy, "mäṣehaf" (lit. book), interpretation of Old and New Testament, and writings of Coptic Church Fathers.on the subject. Also studied are the "Käbrä Nägäst" (epic of the "Solomonic Dynasty") and the "Fetha Nägäst", law code.

538

e Examinations are held orally, usually on the saint's day of the institution, which thereupon becomes graduation day. The oral degrees given are termed, "qenē", "zēma", "mäṣehaf", according to the individual's specialization, much as Western colleges grant Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, etc. degrees. Receipt of the degree is regarded only as a commencement in scholarship, for a real "mämhēr" requires 20 to 40 years of study, to complete all these branches of religious education, in view of the Amhara themselves.

872 Since little girls receive no formal education,
562 they cannot be taught nearly as much as boys, when, later in life, females aspire to become active nuns in nunneries. At most they are taught Geez prayer, with difficulty and by rote, and do nto go beyond what is taught little boys at the local parish schools.

792 onks usually reside in landowning monasteries, except for former priest who have taken monastic vows and return to their parishes. Monasteries are headed by the "abbatachen" (lit. our father), whose official co-administrator is called "Säbate". In personality he is usually dominant andcommanding, unlike the mild, otherworldly abbatachen; though on occasion the same person can hold both positions. Each large monastery has a

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

608 852 to the abolition of 1942), the godparents usually obtained his freedom. The relationship is one of artificial kinship. To symbolize this literally, the godfather and godmother clasp the right thumb of the baby and swear by the Trinity that they will not distinguish between their own children and the godchild.

783 At first baptism, baby or adult, the entire body is immersed or bathed in holy water. Every year, on the festival of "Tenqät" (Epiphany), the sprinkling of the crowd with baptismal water is considered re-baptism, to wash away any breach with Christianity during the year. A woman who has had sexual intercourse with a Muslim must undergo complete baptism, otherwise the neighbors and the church will ostracize her. A person severely ill and considered possessed by demons is rebaptized.

872 At five, boys and girls begin useful functions in the family economy, and therefore boys are often 10 years old before they begin to go to church school. This schooling takes place under the shady cypress trees in the churchyard, under the direction of a young priest or däbtära. The method is rote learning of Geez and Amharic reading, and liturgy, beginning with the Gospel of St. John: "mälaktä yohanesä hawareya". Usually neither translation from the Geez liturgical language nor writing are taught. Graduates of this 3-year school qualify to serve as deacons. In recent years, they may then enter the 3rd grade of a government elementary school. Even church students now use the one-page printed "fidäl" (alphabet) in Geez-Amharic script, which, in addition,

672 has the photograph of Emperor Haile Selassie and the traditional Gospel of St. John in Geez. Priests now often teach the beginnings of basic arithmetic, in church schools.

783 In adult life, the church affects the layman less through participation in worhhip than through his individual confessor, the "näfs abbat", (lit. soul father). Each person is supposed to see him at least once a month, and he soon becomes a personal advisor, confidante, marriage counselor, etc. Therefore, even when a person changes residence, he often maintains this relationship to his "näfs abbat". If he were to take on a new one, the penalty assigned for sins (which the confessor keeps as a sort of fee) would be higher. His regular confessor, who knows his financial condition, asks little beyond the seasonal and festival gifts considered his due. In time of trouble, the regular confessor will appear as a character witness in court, or as "wäs" (guarantor) to help him obtain employment or to keep him out of jail pending trial.

585 Most laymen, are not married by eucharistic marriage in church (the "qurban"). There is no social or religious stigma to marrying outside the church; in fact the priest comes to the secular ceremony ("semanya") to bless the couple. But it does mean technical excommunication, and the couple cannot wear the "aklil" crown at church festivals and parades.

763 As a further result, such a couple cannot receive full last rites, though the confessor-priest will come

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

857 when even brooks are swollen, but rivers soon become too dangerous.
524 During the first season, when they learn to swim, a rope is tied
868 around the child's waist and held by an adolescent or young adult. At this time boys make waterpistols, "tiqqosh" with a bamboo syringe; also peashooters shooting small pebbles with a bamboo strip acting as spring. Boys also make panpipe flutes from stout reeds, in preparation for "spring".

E. Formal Education and Extra-curricular Activities.

872 Basic education, already described in connection with the church, now falls into two types: the traditional church school; and the modern-style elementary school. Overlaps are beginning to appear.

Until a generation ago, the traditional church school had a complete monopoly on education, and for the vast majority of all children this is still true at this writing. It resembles in structure and function the "kuttab" school of the Muslims. Boys of peasant parents usually do not enroll before the age of 11, for until then their economic services are utilized fully, and only when they approach adolescence are the needs for their education felt by parents.

874 Most of the boys attend church school for only three years, for if they wish to study beyond what the village priest can teach them they must leave home for another district or province, e.g. a monastery school. Since the peasant family usually cannot or does not wish to sponsor this, the boy who insists becomes a "wandering" student, begging his way. Usually he goes for "kəne"

874 studies to places in Begemdir province (Gondar), for "qenye" to Gojjam province. He stays there until he receives his certificate, to work as a "dabtära" scribe; if a persistent student he may try to obtain ordination into the priesthood, or, if lackadaisical, make it a life-long occupation to go from school to school, begging his way, learning how to pursuade village women to give him food for a "blessing", and how to fend off dogs with a stout staff. Sometimes, when free food is scarce, he works at semi-skilled occupations such as basket-weaving and weaving sun-umbrellas, selling them at the market. Parents, fearing that this might be the outcome of his "education", discourage boys from leaving home and field.

872 874 The 3-year attendance at the local church school is regarded as highly desirable by both parents and the church, and most boys - but no girls - attend it. When the boy enrolled there has learned to read portions of liturgy or the Bible in the Geez language, chanting psalms and gospels out loud, the father rewards the priest-teacher by sending him a sheep or a goat, sometimes even an aged cow or old ox. The priests often charge their older students with teaching the younger ones, in exchange for special privileges.

855 Boys misbehaving, such as making errors or not fully participating in the chanting in unison, or asking questions considered impious, are punished immediately by twisting of the ear or slaps on the head.

The methods of teaching are frequent repetition of lessons, learning by rote, chanting of memorized lessons. Translation into Amharic is rarely taught at this level, and writing almost never (until very recently in some locations under central government influence). The priest-teacher usually exerts greater efforts toward

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

872 children of generous parents, and punishes and quite overtly
874 neglects children of poorer parents. Probably not more than 20% of the boys attend with regularity, but absentees may be punished.

872 The modern elementary school is available only at provincial capitals, and the nation's capital (the latter contains also high schools and a college). The curriculum of the elementary schools is now patterned after the American model, with Amharic and religion taught by Amhara teachers and priests, and other subjects, including English from the 3rd grade on, taught by imported teachers from India (also Europeans in Addis Ababa itself). Equipment includes blackboard ("sälēda") and chalk, but few printed books.

During the past decade, overlaps have been developing. Some church schools now also teach elementary arithmetic and Amharic writing, which the new law requires, though most in a minimal fashion or not at all. Arithmetic uses Amharic numerals, and more recently, also Arabic numerals. The first steps in this modernization had been ordered by Menelik II, but the change is still far from complete. Conversely, the students enrolling in elementary schools of provincial capitals are usually not younger than 11, as in the old tradition. Graduates of the 3-year village church school may enter in the 3rd grade of the modern elementary school, but are usually older than their classmates, so that they are 20 years old at graduation. This is often found in provincial capitals.

Only during the past decade have several girls' elementary schools been founded in some provincial capitals.

872 Since elementary schools, though increasing in number, still
565 constitute the major bottleneck in education, demand exceeding supply, (while high schools are more nearly sufficient because of fewer applicants), sons of officeholders and feudal lords find it

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

872 565 easier, in practice, to gain admittance. The efforts of the emperor to give opportunities to the rural sons of poor orphans of soldiers who died fighting for their country, by opening boarding houses for them, attached to elementary schools, were defeated by the provincial feudal lords and townspeople, who managed to have their sons quartered in them instead.

Thus, traditional social stratification, both class and ethnic, affects even the modern elementary schools. In 1952 about 60,000 children, 10% girls, attended modern elementary schools in Ethiopia, [563] and far more than half this number was Amhara. Ethnic minority groups find it very hard to have their children admitted, because the school administrators are usually Amhara. Thus, the Qemants of Gondar, for example, have found it easier to enroll their sons in the Catholic mission school operated there by Tigrean(Eritrean) priests. Other ethnic minorities have enrolled children in 7th Day Adventist and other mission schools.

871 184 565 In Addis Ababa itself the situation is quite different, however. Here, traditional social stratification has far less effect, partly because of the closer supervision by more modern officials of the central government, partly because the teachers in the high schools, and even in part in the elementary schools, are Europeans or Americans who emphasise social equality among students, pay no attention to family nobility, and reward only merit. Here, the son of the illiterate peasant, or occasionally even ex-slave negroid Shanqalla, may sit next to the son of an Amhara duke or a Galla "balbat". After graduation, they may be sent abroad for college or post-graduate training, based on merit, regardless of parental rank; though in social and family life the traditional social cleavages prevail.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

000 prevail.

871 Most elementary school graduates from the provincial capitals
465 do not continue to Addis Ababa for a high school education, for they can obtain good and honorable positions, paying ETH$125.- (US $50.-) per month in the same town, as teachers, municipal clerks, with a good chance to be appointed to judgeship soon if they cultivate the right persons in power with "daj temut". Even Students who "flunk out" in the 7th or 8th grade can earn ETH$100.- as teachers of lower grades, or as low-grade clerks.

872 One old tradition which has broken down in the modern elemen-
212 tary schools but not in most church schools, is the prohibition of
178 extra-curricular writing. In the higher church grades, in which students' piety was already confirmed, especially in the monastery schools, copying psalms, gospels, (and by extension, government documents), was permitted, practiced, even regarded as praiseworthy. But there was, and in rural areas still is, fear that less pious students would use their knowledge of writing to experiment with magical formulae, doodlings, etc., creating dangerous mischief.

Therefore, parchment goatskins and writing equipment were carefully kept away from students of village church schools, and they were not taught to write. Thus, achievement of the skill of a scribe, "däbtära", required considerable individual initiative and study away from home.

212 However, boys at the "experimental" age of childhood, would
857 amuse themselves with the forbidden game of writing and doodling in secret, and they still do. Their work can be seen scribbled even on the outside walls and posts of some churches, a daring prank, sometimes in imitation of the church painter. More often

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

priests and monks celebrated mass and prayed in every direction. But the ritualistic and ascetic aspects of Ethiopian Christianity did not monopolize the attention of Gondar, for they were balanced by the sensuous leisure that prevailed in the city. Gondar could be, as European travelers found it before the middle of the nineteenth century, "a town of pleasures" and of "boundless debauchery."[48]

A preoccupation with the symbols of the religious tradition, however, was quite consistent with a less than puritanical atmosphere. This—the work of teachers, students, painters, copyists—represented the genius of Gondar's cultural activity. Generation after generation traversed the mountainous highlands to reach this mecca of learning. Painters were drawn or formed there in such numbers that a special section of the city, the "picture market," was reserved for the sale of parchment and pigments. Under such circumstances the prestige of the literatus was bound to affect the common culture.

Gondarēs have traditionally been eager to send their children to the church schools. An unusually high percentage of people is said to have learned to read the *Dāwit* (Psalms of David, the final step in the traditional elementary curriculum) in and around Gondar than in any other part of Ethiopia. The Gondarēs have been notoriously proud of their literary and general cultural level. Indeed, they claim to speak the purest and most elegant Amharic in the land. The stability and number of Gondar's religious institutions permitted religious culture to flourish there. This gave the Gondarē occasion to become especially proficient in the religio-literary virtues as they were defined in Amhara culture.

Manz versus Gondar

As church and army were among the chief institutional developments of Abyssinia, so religious culture and military culture were among the chief products of the Amhara-Tigre spirit. Both aspects of its culture were important all over Abyssinia throughout its history, but in Gondar and Manz, respectively, they underwent a more specialized development.

Gondar grew as a center for religious culture because the materials necessary for such a growth were concentrated in one place over a long period of time. The abundance of churches, masters, and pupils created a dense climate in which religious dance, painting, poetry, and textual studies flourished. Such innovation as the traditions permitted was encouraged by the coming of clergy to Gondar from all parts of the country.

The city failed as a military and political center because only a mobile capital could control the distant regions of Ethiopia and because, as Trimingham observes, "a fixed capital enabled court intrigue to thrive more insidiously [so that] coups d'état and the killing or imprisoning of monarchs became the rule."[44] Gondar's political integrity was weakened, moreover, by the in-

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

be many years later, as a learned priest or *dabtarā* or as a successful warrior or official, and some sort of reconciliation might be effected with his family. In either case, from a sociological viewpoint, the rebellious youth is merely preparing himself to take over one of the more specialized functions on which the wider social order depends. His break with his parents does not signify a revolt against society, but, if anything, a closer attachment to society through more intimate alliance with its highest values, religion and warfare.

Thus there has always been some room for the attainment of a new social identity in Abyssinia. Although the rigidity of paternal authority often meant that it must be attained through rebellion, the adolescent could eat his cake of defiance and still have his cake of loyalty; and the social system was well served thereby.

ADOLESCENCE IN CHANGING ETHIOPIA

The foregoing description of adolescence still obtains for the vast majority of Amhara youth today. Side by side with this traditional pattern of "growing up on the farm," however, a quite different pattern of childhood and adolescence has been developing in Addis Ababa and in some of the provincial capitals. This new pattern follows the course of experience provided by participation in the government school system. It has radically interrupted the traditional rhythm of growing up and has posed more integrative problems than it has yet been able to solve.

The Welfare School

Public education in Ethiopia prior to the Italian invasion represented a small but significant trickle of activity alongside the mainstream of traditional institutions. Perhaps some six to seven hundred boys and girls received the beginnings of a modern education in the government schools of Addis Ababa by 1935.[9] Many others received some elementary education in government provincial schools and in schools operated by foreign religious missions, though the latter never played as significant a role in Ethiopia as they did in colonial Africa.

During the occupation, Ethiopians were prevented from acquiring anything higher than elementary education, but the Italians did construct a number of school buildings for their own nationals which facilitated the growth of the Ethiopian school system after 1941. By 1944 there were some 25,000 pupils enrolled in government schools, a figure which rose to 60,000 by 1950 and reached 234,000 in 1963.[10]

The base of the Ethiopian educational program has been an eight-year elementary curriculum, the first four years being taught in Amharic and the

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

second four in English, although Ethiopian teachers often continue to teach in Amharic in the latter years.* This standard curriculum is supposed to be followed by all schools in the country—church, mission, and private schools, as well as those staffed by the government. In practice, a scarcity of teachers and materials in the provincial schools means that the curriculum is followed less closely there than in Addis Ababa. (The exceptional case of Asmara, capital of Eritrea which federated with Ethiopia in 1952 after sixty-two years under Italian administration, will not be considered here.) This elementary program culminates with a general examination that covers the five main fields of Amharic, English, mathematics, science, and social studies. Successful completion of this exam has been required for virtually every type of training beyond the elementary level.

At the secondary level, by contrast, the Ethiopian student faces a bewildering array of educational programs. As listed in the flow chart of the Ministry of Education, they include theological secondary, academic secondary, elementary teacher training, handicraft teacher training, commercial school, technical school, agricultural secondary school, nurses training, community nurses training, sanitarians, naval cadet training, air cadet training, civil aviation, and inservice technical training. Admission of students to these schools is the responsibility of the individual directors, who take into account the students' own preferences when feasible.

A similar procedure obtains at the college level, for which successful completion of the secondary school-leaving examination has in most cases been mandatory. During the 1950's a number of schools were opened at the post-secondary level: the Arts and Science Faculties of the University College of Addis Ababa, the Agricultural College, the Engineering College, the Public Health College, the Building College, and the National Defense Colleges. Some of these have now been combined into a single institution, the Haile Selassie I University.

For students who have gone as far as the upper grades of elementary school, the desire to get into one of the secondary level schools—no matter which one—has usually become the uppermost concern in their lives. They have become obsessively aware of the "value" (*ïlqem*) of further schooling, namely, as the surest way to a job that pays well. Perhaps they have become fired with idealism to help advance their country and hope to gain some special competence that will enable them to do so. Until 1962, moreover, the rewards of being a secondary school student included material fringe benefits that gave many a powerful motive for prolonging their education. Above all,

* In 1963–64 the system was changed to one with six years of elementary education followed by two years of junior secondary education.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

they have come too far along the road of modernity to return to what they regard as the hard and thankless lot of the traditional adolescent, and so are forced to find some place in the modernizing sector of society. Since Ethiopia's modernizing sector has so far provided only the secondary school system as a means of integrating its youth, the eighth-grade examination certificate constitutes a ticket to the future which must be obtained at all costs.

At the same time that this examination was acquiring its momentous significance in the lives of Ethiopia's youth, the proportion of students who passed it was becoming progressively smaller. By 1959, efforts by Ministry of Education officials to raise academic standards and to adjust the number of eligible students to the number of openings in secondary schools resulted in the failing of some sixty per cent of those who took the examination, a situation which provoked nearly riotous protests by students in Addis Ababa.[11]

Such conditions have laden the eighth-grade examination with more awesomeness and terror than a puberty rite. Worries about the exam preoccupy most seventh and eighth graders, and their anxiety is compounded by the attitudes of their school directors, for whom the proportion of passing students has tended to become the primary index of success. The weeks before the exam are filled with frantic cramming on the part of teachers as well as students. It is no wonder that such pressures have on occasion led students to purchase actual or alleged copies of the exam in advance from ministry employees or their go-betweens, an offense which has been sternly dealt with by the ministry.

Those students who do not pass the eighth-grade exam or who, because of family pressures, low ability, or other reasons, leave school before completing the eighth grade, move to the margin of Ethiopian society. If attendance at a secondary school or beyond may be taken as the defining characteristic of a "modern adolescent" in Ethiopia, since that signifies their participation in the one institutionalized pattern of secondary socialization in the modern sector, these young people are neither traditional adolescents nor fully modern, but fall in an interstitial category. Having caught a glimpse of some brave new world in their early schooling, they find themselves cast adrift, in the prime of their adolescence, in a no-man's region between traditional society and the promised land. In some cases they manage to make a rapid adjustment; more often, only their youthful energy saves them from total despair.

These marginal adolescents normally drift to Addis Ababa, if they are not already there, and lead the most precarious sorts of lives. They live as loiterers on the streets and byways of the capital. They go from school to school, begging for a place; or from office to office, looking for some sort of work, which they are unlikely to find if they do not have a relative in an influential position. It is so hard to find employment without at least an eighth-grade certifi-

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

New Agents of Socialization

In Amhara society, as we have seen, the agents of primary socialization—parents and older relatives—likewise prepare the young person for adulthood, by teaching him work skills, arranging his marriage, and conditioning him to the mores of adult society. In changing Ethiopia, these traditional managers of adolescence are unable to impart the skills and values needed for a modern life. Their role as agents of secondary socialization is taken for the most part by teachers and peers in the government schools.

Schools at the post-elementary levels in Ethiopia have been staffed mainly by teachers brought under contract from foreign countries—chiefly Canada, England, India, Sweden, and the United States. Together with a growing number of Ethiopians who have studied abroad, and some graduates of Ethiopian colleges, these teachers have been the principal medium through which Ethiopian adolescents have been exposed to Western culture, not only by teaching subjects like science and English literature, and skills like drafting and stenography, but also by imparting attitudes and values important for Ethiopia's modernization.

High among these new values is that of rewarding an individual solely on the basis of performance. Although the long arm of "connections" has occasionally reached into the school system, to save, for example, the relative of some dignitary from dismissal despite substandard performance, the day-to-day operation of school life follows general standards which are applied without regard to family connections, class position, or tribal and religious affiliations.* The degree to which the students have accepted the sovereignty of universal norms is reflected in their response to the question: "In general, what will help you most to get ahead, ability or 'pull' (that is, personal contacts or influence, through family or friends)?" Nine-tenths of the students at both secondary and college levels expressed the belief that ability would help them more to get ahead.

Another modern value promoted by the school staffs is that of Ethiopian nationalism. In the elementary schools outside of Addis Ababa, pupils tend to associate chiefly with members of their own tribe and religion. In the post-elementary schools, they inevitably have considerable intercourse with members of other groups. On the basis of our sample, the ethnic composition of the post-elementary schools may be estimated as in Table 2. This ethnic pluralism would seem at first to intensify particularistic sentiments among

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115]

* This reflects deliberate government policy. Before the occupation, sons of noblemen were segregated at Tafari Makonnen School and received preferential treatment. After the liberation, the Emperor not only discontinued this policy but took pains to eliminate favoritism in the schools to a large degree.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5
Ethiopia MP1

TABLE 2 [P. 114]

E 563 873 795 A 873 795 ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF ETHIOPIAN SECONDARY AND COLLEGE STUDENTS

Ethnic Group	Percentage	Religious Group	Percentage
Amhara	55	"Orthodox"	67
Tigre	22	"Protestant"	6
Galla	15	"Catholic"	5
Gurage	4	"Christian"	15
Others*	4	Total Christian	93
		Muslim	4
		Others†	3

* Adari, Somali, Danakil, Wollamo, Kambata, Mensa, etc.
† Baha'i; agnostic; "no religion"; etc.

COMMENTS:

E A [125] [128] 1. The ethnic figures must be regarded with some caution, since as many as 17 per cent of the 700 respondents failed to answer the question. It is difficult to know whether this is due primarily to the reluctance of non-Amhara students so to identify themselves, even anonymously; to the general sensitivity about mentioning anything directly related to the "tribal question"; or simply to misunderstanding of the question. I suspect that the first-named factor may not be the most important. At any rate, if one compares the secondary school replies, in which 20 per cent failed to indicate their ethnic identification, with the college replies, in which only 10 per cent failed to do so, the greater percentage of response among the latter is accompanied by a slight *increase* (53.3 to 56.7 per cent) in the Amhara category.

The figures on religious affiliation are more reliable, since only 3 per cent of the entire sample failed to answer that question.

2. Fifteen per cent of the students who indicated their ethnic affiliations are the offspring of mixed marriages, nearly two-thirds of which were between Amhara and Galla. These students were entered in the above classification according to the ethnic group of the father.

3. The students were also asked to indicate whether their own religion differed from that of their parents. *Ten per cent indicated such a change.* Of these, 28 per cent became agnostic or indicated "no religion"; 25 per cent converted to Protestantism; 17 per cent to Catholicism; 18 per cent went from "Orthodox" to "Christian" (which probably means to Protestantism in most cases); and 7 per cent changed to Baha'i.

E 563 873 872 162 A 872 873 162 4. A comparison with the ethnic and religious composition of the country as a whole naturally suggests itself. Unfortunately, national figures have not yet been calculated to any comparable degree of reliability. If one refers to the crude estimates in common currency, certain disproportions are readily apparent.

Thus, the Amhara proportion of the national population has been estimated at 25 to 30 per cent. It is clear that they are disproportionately represented in the school system; but not so greatly as has been at times alleged. In view of the statistics and considerations presented above, it would seem that 30 per cent is the upper limit of enrolment by "pure Amhara" in the post-elementary schools.

E A 162 795 The disproportions with regard to religious affiliation speak for themselves. The most recent published estimates are: Ethiopian Orthodox, 35 per cent; Muslim, 35 per cent; pagan, 25 per cent; other, 5 per cent. (Lipsky, *Ethiopia* [New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1962], p. 101.)